



1. Old Chiriguano of Yumbá (Upper Pilcomayo).
Note the enormous labret and the head band.

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2. Karnapadyú, "captain" of the
Caruruf region near the middle
course of the Parapetí River (Photo. A. M.)

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1. Santos Airedyü, the last "capitan grande" of the still independent Chiriguano Indians. Airedyü is completely assimilated to civilization and lives like a rich Bolivian farmer. He is a man of great character. (Photo. A. M.)

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2. Group of Chiriguano in a Franciscan mission. (Photo. by the R. P. Honorato Catinari.)

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De Molles, y de murta bien obrado,
Seguro que bebian casi arroba,
Que media á cada cual le estaba dado.
/The wine of maize and of algarroba,
Of Molles, and of myrtle well worked.
It is certain that they drank almost
an arroba,
The measure which was given to each
one./

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Kiwi is too respected a drink to be drunk in any old way. Etiquette requires one to comply with certain rules if the honor of participating in a drinking bout is done you. I sometimes had a chance to be invited to these festivities, and on such an occasion I was able to make the following observations which I am setting down just as I noted them in my field notebook: The men are seated in a circle on chairs or benches. The women squat behind them, on skins spread out on the ground. The kiwi is brought in vessels shaped like bulls, and one of them is put down at the feet of the "captain." The girl who has brought it fills a small calabash and offers it to the "captain," who empties it. Next he serves me and gives the vessel back to her. He does the same with my neighbor, then with several of the guests. Then he hands the calabash to his wife and goes to sit down. The latter serves the rest of the men present.

A second vessel, brimming over with kiwi, is put this time before another Indian who perhaps is held in some esteem. He drinks first, then busies himself with his companions. Two large calabashes are then given over to the women, and from that moment on, the distribution no longer seems to follow any order. Men and women drink and serve their neighbors without obeying any rule of decorum other than not to forget other people. They acquit themselves perfectly in this duty of politeness, and nobody is neglected, not even the very small children, who take alarming quantities of kiwi.

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At Sainirénda on Easter Day I was able to note that the first one served is always the "captain." As before, the vessel full of kíwi is put down at his feet. He drinks the first bumper, then hands his cup or calabash to his neighbor. The latter gives back the calabash empty or fills it and passes it on in his turn. Several calabashes are circulated, but they always come back to the first person who received each one and he finishes it. The men move from their places several times to go to serve the women who, on their part, do not forget themselves and drink according to the same /370/ ritual as the men. The drinking takes place to the sound of flutes and violins.

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When the supply of kíwi is exhausted in a village, they get in single file and, the music at the head, go elsewhere to revel.

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Formerly the preparation of kíwi was accompanied by magic rites. Today nothing is left of this but the custom of daubing the face and legs with roucou. In certain villages the women do not even take this precaution any more. However, between Carurutí and Caipipendí, I could still see several women stained like this, who seemed "handsome devils," to use an expression dear to Jean de Léry.

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Notes on the Cooking Utensils Used among the Chiriguano

Nothing strikes the traveler who arrives in a Chiriguano village so much as the abundance of pieces of pottery he finds inside or outside the huts. Figure 1 of Plate XIV /see p. 115/ gives an idea /Fig. 35 appears here/ of the number of vessels one can see in a small area at the time when the Indians are preparing corn beer.

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Pottery for culinary use among the Chiriguano has a completely different nature from that for ceremonial days. The latter is clearly of Andean origin with a few rare Arawak elements, while the former has retained a very marked Guaraní character.

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chané* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chané* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chané* (*Guano*).

Chiriguano chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the *yanduwa*, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with *urucú*. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "é, é" instead of the childish "ú, ú."

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year¹ (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

¹ According to Father Chomé (1819 b, p. 202), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock over the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to start a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

The shamans (ipays) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of *Aguara-tunpa*. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapeti River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

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224 animal is capable of distinguishing between the brave and
 *125 the cowardly, and the latter is the first to be attacked and
 consequently to be badly injured.

*825 Jaguar skin, as I have already said, has intrinsic value;
 954 it is used in saddleries for the bottom padding of saddles and
 1281 for saddlebags; it is a luxury for persons of rank. The ani-
 959 mal has a quantity of fat, and this is a good remedy for
 1439 rheumatism, aching bones, and other ailments; the Indians
 take it and sell it in the interior of the Republic and trade it
 for used clothing. It is to be noted, however, that they do
 falsify it, as they also falsify snake grease, because it can be
 understood that the killing of this ferocious animal is not a
 frequent thing. Rarely does the Chiriguano hunt the jaguar,
 [466] and he is not always inclined to help the white man, but the
 latter forces his peons to do so, and they gather the fat and
 [262] sell or present it to their friends or relatives. Jaguar meat is
 good food, although, to be sure, it smells wild, as does the
 skin, but this meat, if placed in salt water or brine overnight,
 loses its bad smell; they assert that this meat is like that of a
 cow.

*136 The male jaguar is quite large. I measured one, and it
 was two meters long from the tail, one meter high, and it
 weighed seven arrobas. The female is smaller; I measured
 one that had just been killed; from the tail it measured one
 meter and ten centimeters, was 75 centimeters high, and
 weighed four and a half arrobas. The female gives birth
 [231] every three years, and the newborn cubs are always a pair, one
 male and one female; the mother is most dangerous when
 she has young /illustration appears here/ /41/ and defends
 them at any cost, but hunters first kill the mother and then
 try to catch the cubs alive; they almost always succeed and
 take them home to domesticate them, but this is an im-
 possible job because they are jaguars forever; I have seen
 two of these cubs well chained but very bad. In general,
 cubs when taken away from their mother die in a few days
 either through lack of adequate food, which is milk, or also
 out of desperation upon finding themselves in the midst of
 beings foreign to their nature.

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761 them life would be delightful and eternal here on earth where God put him, as has been seen when we were dealing with the creation.

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753 The same might be said of sickness. If there is something the matter with a foot, the head, the stomach, or any other part of the body, they do not blame human nature, the elements, the seasons, the sudden changes of the atmosphere so common in the region, but bad sorcerers. If someone dies suddenly, if the old and the young die, if smallpox breaks out in the village, or any other epidemic, it is always blamed on the evil sorcerers (1).

[161] 1. If someone dies because he has drunk in someone else's house, they attribute it to poison administered by sorcery. Death produced by falls, suicide, or murder is not attributed to the sorcerer.

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624 Some sorcerers are best for rain and for the fields, and others
623 for illness. If some contagious disease begins to spread around a
643 Chiriguano town or if in the town itself one case or another has
571 appeared, the principle cacique convokes a council of all of
731 the lower caciques; they discuss the appropriate measures to
755 be instituted in order to chase away the sickness at once. The first thing they do is to call one of the well-known sorcerers. Then a commission is formed to take the entreaty to the great charlatan, and usually the one charged with this is the head cacique himself, who is accompanied by one or two of the lower caciques.

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731 The sorcerer receives the cacique's invitation as a very great honor, and furthermore, hearing the offers they make him if he manages to drive away or expel the epidemic, there is no idiot who would reject it, since the sorcerer in another town is king for the whole time that he stays there. Everything is at his disposal, men and women, goods /149/ and clothing, food and drink. He spends a better life than that of a great lord (1).

1. The one who explains the object of the

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embassy to the sorcerer is the cacique, and his companions limit themselves to saying Afeto, that is how it is, just as the altar boy or sacristan says amen.

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Of course, his arrival is awaited anxiously. All surround him in order to welcome him and give him demonstrations of affection. There is no family which will not bring him whatever it can so that he may cure well. Cooked chickens, boiled eggs, live lambs, and plenty of chicha are all presents for the great rascal. All of this is still done for any sorcerer.

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After a short rest, a good meal, and better refreshments, the sorcerer opens his ceremonial with numerous questions in order to try to discover who brought the epidemic to the town, in case it has come in already. If so, he continues in this way and his exorcisms are daily, general for the town, and special for each sick person, as I shall say farther on.

But if the sickness has not come in, he gathers together all of the principal men, they make cigars of tobacco wrapped in maize husks, gather in a circle, light the cigars, and blow smoke in every direction, the sorcerer observing which way the smoke is going. When the location is more or less known, they all go there, club in hand. The sorcerer makes a small excavation and takes from it the charm which he has put there beforehand without being seen; it consists of old, dirty rags mixed with hairs and small bones. Then he burns all that in the presence of the company, strikes the ground with his club and feet, being imitated by all (2).

2. It is not uncommon that the sorcerers themselves take the clothing of persons with smallpox from one town to another in order that the contagion may spread and that they may have some pretext for profit and a life full of gifts.

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and the Mataco; thus the fruit of the chafiar,
mistol, and algarroba are used in the manu-
facture of chicha.

Subalterns

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The cacique of a tribe is not alone in political, judicial,
and administrative administration. In order to have a more
correct administration, he, as sole and supreme authority,
selects counselors and assistants, whom he seeks from among
the most competent persons of the tribe. The primary advisors
are whatever stereos there may be; these men are thus feared
and hence respected by the people, who make use of them in
sickness and calamity, both public and private.

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Next in rank as counselors come other men to whom they
give the name Igüra iya, owner of the stick or baton, accord-
ing to the signification of the word and which corresponds in
spanish to hombre de mando ó autoridad /man in command or
authority/. Thus they are the alcaldes, to whom the cacique
hands over part of his authority with absolute subordination, so
that through complaints, ineptitude, or other causes, the
alcaldes are summarily dismissed and then others appointed.
In each tribe there is a single alcalde who does everything, be-
cause the cacique, in his town, is better than an emperor, not
having to lift a straw and spending his time in prolonged idlen-
ess.

/167/ The alcaldes in the tribes take charge of the rest of
the settlers; in a search for peons they hear the sarcasms and
recriminations of their fellows, and many times they definitely
disobey them, even going so far as to insult them with:
Mburubicha pa nde? Perhaps you are a cacique?" (1)

1. In the missions with many tribes there are as
many caciques and alcaldes as there are tribes
composing them. In this regard the custom of the
Indians has been respected for a better and more
honest administration.

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A fact that confirms what has been said happened in the Caipipendi region. The regional cacique Tengua was succeeded by his son Cariti, who, because of the grave errors that he made or was supposed to have made, was dismissed, and the native Tarúire, who apparently at least had very good qualities, was named in his place. This latter, selected by the whites with the consent or nomination of the Indians, had to return the favor of his benefactors who had elevated him and consequently to respond to all the demands and requests for peons, and one time the poor Indians had to go to Santa Cruz as a guarantee for the /164/ unhappy Indians who feared that, under the pretext of jobs in the city, they would be taken to the Beni (1).

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1. In El Beni men are sold for 1,000 Bs. and women at a lesser price. Baron D. Erland Nordenskiöld gave a lecture in London proving that slavery exists in Bolivia and Peru.

This concern of Tarúire and suspicion of the Indians originated in a publicly known event which took place in the year 1905, when a party of Indians sold to the rubber plantations were taken from there; rumors of this event spread rapidly through all the newspapers of the Republic, which expressed disapproval of it, and at that time I saw whole groups of families who, with all of their possessions, emigrated to other lands.

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The result of this is that today many Indians obey Tarúire, not out of love or loyalty, but out of fear of the harsh punishment which the political authorities would immediately impose on them; and the cacique is now beginning to tire of this task which is so odious for him, for he wants to be tranquil in his home and to enjoy peace. He has repeatedly said this to me and he would be satisfied if they would renominate Cariti, for whom the Indians hold proper respect.

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The post thus set up served as a central point for the new house; next he traced a more or less round circle without having any recourse whatsoever to the rules of theoretical geometry, being ignorant of its existence; nevertheless, his reason helped him enough. Having traced the circle and having secured ahead of time enough forked poles /horquillas/ some two meters high, he put them in holes some 50 or 60 centimeters deep around the circumference, leaving the entrance facing the plaza.

Once these poles have been well fixed in the ground around the center pole, the Indian, with the help of his companions and relatives, prepares rafters, straw, bejuco or ceiba bark, hollow cane or small sticks. He then begins, after an appropriate period of rest, to put in place first the rafters, tying them to each other, the center post serving as a prop, and then he ties them to the poles around the circumference, one to each pole, until he finishes. Before beginning, the precaution is taken of singeing the bejuco. The rest is done as has been described in the modern houses, but when the placing of the roof and the walls around are finished, the center post, which would only be an obstruction for the fire which is constantly burning in the center of the house, is removed (2).

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2. Singed bejuco does not rot, regardless of the season in which it has been pulled up. It is resistant and is not attacked by the wood borer. Those who use it so much have experience.

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Everyone knows that conical houses are very solid, when care is taken to select good wood and /illustration appears here/ /177/ to cut it during the waning moon. If the rafters have the fork downward, conical houses are much more solid (1).

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1. A house in conical form among the ancient Chiriguano indicated great ability on the part of the builder and status on the part of its owner; for this reason they were owned only by caciques, rich persons, and other important persons.

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[197] buy in the store, so active since the founding of the mission.
The Chiriguano with his vigorous head of hair and his red Yapicnana
/188/ walks very proudly and shows off both things at feasts
in the presence of his companions (i).

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1. An interested party once said that the mission in Yumbá had no purpose because the Indians were civilized. I am sure that this is not true, because the explorer who wants to learn the old customs of the Indians can study them better there than anyone else today. There they wear long hair, the tembeta /lip plug/, and balaca, or band, from childhood.

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To cover the head they do not all wear a hat. The latter is woven by them themselves with palm leaves, Carandai; they bring them from the places where they are abundant, Carandaiti, pull out the whitest shoots /cogollo/, take them to their houses, then string them one by one on a long cord, which they make of the same palm, tying them to each other. They hang them there and the action of the air whitens them much more. Then they divide each leaf of three or four shoots into leaflets no larger than 2 1/2 centimeters and begin to weave at the crown, where they form a cross with these leaflets, which they then keep weaving, and, as one ends, they add another, and when the work reaches the edge or brim, they stick the ends in so that the hat will not come undone, pull strongly, cut off the ends, and a round hat has been finished.

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Others form long strands one centimeter wide and sew them to one another with cotton thread, and these hats are imperfect cones lined with black or red cloth. They are used by older Indians, those of importance, caciques and sorcerers (?).

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2. The Quichua /Quechua/ always with his cap, the Chiriguano is abandoning the custom of long hair, the lip is pierced for the tembeta in few places now, and the straw hat is being

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291 Clothing in the fashion of Adam is still seen everywhere. In the towns the men, and almost everywhere the women, are at least dressed from the waist to below the knee, because for work or for costume the Cutana or tipoy, which can cover them up to the shoulders, is allowed to fall to the waist, the rest being left visible.

Gala Dress

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For the ancient Chiriguano, the Ambicuai, doublet, was fine and festive clothing. This single name includes the Guaspi caugao, hat, the Ambicuai, jacket or frock coat, and the Guaspi timbiano, breeches. Because the doublet is an object of luxury, they do not all wear it, its use being limited to the grandees or caciques, to rich men, and to sorcerers.

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292 It is made entirely of tanned skin, which are those of the wild
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(824) } boar, peccary, or pygmy deer. They are tanned with the bark of the Croton, the astringent acacia or sevil, which contains a great deal of tannin.

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Skillful men are needed to make a complete doublet like the one made in the Santa Rosa Mission by the Indian Cachupari, which, when taken to the Turin exposition, was acquired by the Florence Museum, along with the skull that I acquired in Curuyacu and other objects, such as the Yandugua, a kind of parasol of ostrich feathers, etc., objects which the missionaries of Potosí sent along with the missionaries of Tarija (2).

2. The missionary who was charged with taking all the things to the exposition and leading the Chiriguano of both sexes, as the program directed, was the late Franciscan Father Doroteo Giannecchini.

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The crown of the hat is made of four oval parts, as is the brim which surrounds it, sewed with fine cords of the same material, and the edge of the brim is turned upward. The hat has a band of the same material sewed to both sides at the temples to hold it to the throat; a knot or a ring on the band can be used to tighten it.

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The Ambirua, which lends its name to the whole outfit, is a perfect cañoté, but its form is entirely Chiriguano, for it does not hinder the movement of the arms. Its cut is not straight, and both parts are made fast at the chest with two leather straps, which are run through the holes on the opposite side. The cañoté in back ends in two points, where there is a kind of ornamentation of the same leather, which consists of short, fine strips, like a tassel. The sleeves are wide, as is the whole garment, and are attached to the shoulder, being open at the armpit so as not to impede the movement of the arms, either in hunting or in war, where the grandees also wear it. In fact, in the photograph taken in Santa Rosa to be sent to the exposition, a hunter and a warrior dressed in this, doublet appear outside the circle. In the middle there is a Chiriguano woman with her crown and adornments as queen of the fiesta, who offers chirba to all who are enjoying themselves (1).

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1. The queen is the one who serves the dancers as mistress and patroness of the fiesta. This photograph or figure will not be reproduced in the chapter dealing with fiestas because I could not obtain it.

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The Timbian, breeches, is also of leather and is made of four pieces, wider from the waist to the sacrum and narrower from the thigh to the bottom. It is quite wide and comes to the ankle. It is rougher than the rest, but more valued, and they will give anything to have even a single pair. This garment is tied at the waist with a belt or with two strings which are sewed across the entire width of the garment itself.

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I am going to end this chapter by mentioning a fancy ornament which has completely disappeared. It is a woman's ornament and is called Aguá, crown, and whoever wore it was called Cufia aguá vaé, crowned woman. The duty of this woman at the public drinking bouts and solemnities was to direct the women's dance, to direct the singing, and to give drinks to the singers and dancers with her own hands. The aguá was a varicolored band up to three meters long, which was put around the head, crossed at the back of the neck, and held on by thorns, needles, or big silver pins, and both ends terminated in tassels of various colors. It was a very striking ornament (1).

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1. In order to send a complete aguá to the Turin exposition I had to have it made in the girls' school in Santa Rosa. I could not get one in the town; there were none even at that time.

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Here is poor humanity without any exact idea of religion and worship, they are zealous and hard-working for the body, but have no concern at all for the soul. Only Christ can restore humankind, and tear away the veil which was obscuring its intelligence, and only the priest and Catholic missionary can teach him the sound doctrine of /199/ immortality and other dogmas, so that with this knowledge he may first seek the kingdom of God and receive the rest besides (1).

1. Quaerite primum regnum Dei et haec omnia adiicientur vobis.

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Explanation of the Preceding Illustration¹

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1. Sticks for getting fire.
2. Bull's horn for use as a musical instrument.
3. Tail of a quiriquincho /armadillo/ for use as a musical instrument.
4. Tweezers for pulling out the hair from the face and other parts.

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λ [i.e., on p. 266. - Analyst]

/219 cont./

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to his mother with satisfaction and then tells his companions about it.

/220/ There are also men who teach boys the way to be quick in fights and even the way to dodge enemy arrows, as well as bullets. The man who teaches this is called Puruncanise, or man who scratches. He is the terror of the boys in the town where he lives. The method he uses is to run after the boys, and woe to the one who out of weakness or carelessness lets himself be caught! In the hands of the puruncanise he suffers the martyrdom of being scratched all over his body with long fingernails, which he lets grow on purpose, in addition to the blame he gets for letting himself be caught by an old man. In a second race it is not likely that the boy being taught will let himself be caught (1).

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1. Those who are older have the calf of the leg scratched with the tooth of the Acuti /agouti/ by another of the art. A lot of blood comes out of this, and upon recovering, they say that they are very good at running and can resist fatigue much more than those who did not allow themselves to be scratched.

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When all the boys of the tribe have received practical lessons from such a neighbor, they indeed may be ready for war, because skill consists in knowing how to shoot in order to injure and also how to dodge the enemy arrow. The Indians [554] who know such strategy are called Queremba by their companions.

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In the last war of Curuyuqui, the Indians attacked the Santa Rosa Mission while Colonel don Tomás Frías was there. He chose as a target an Indian Queremba who seemed to be the chief of the company and lost some eight or ten bullets without having the pleasure of felling him. Almost all the Indians learn this way of fighting; hence their combats do not last long. That of Curuyuqui lasted eight hours because they were sheltered in trenches.

/227 cont./

881 health, contract marriage, serve their husbands very efficiently,
198 and educate their children, who are born with all the perfection
197 of nature (1).

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1. In the Chiriguano region, even in that part won by the missionaries of Potosí after the year 1870, many maidens of the white race have contracted marriage, having reached a suitable age.

Imposition of the Tembeta

855 The education of the boy, as has already been seen, is the task of both parents. Up to a certain age it is almost exclusively that of the mother, and after the age of six or seven years, exclusively that of the father, who accustoms him to field chores, to hunting, and even to fishing in the areas where there are large rivers. Fishing is done by the women in the little streams, and the men assist them in the diversion of the water and setting up two boundaries in the form of a V, open to allow the water to pass through, a job they call Parirenta.

881 /228/ The time now comes for the boy to be a man and
[195] not a boy, the time to give up the ú ú of his affirmative answers and to adopt the Ta suitable for the Cuimbae, or man ready for everything. His father, his grandfather, his mother, and other relatives make him understand that for this it is necessary that he show his companions the distinctive mark of the tribe, that is to say, it is necessary to have his lower lip, [304] Tembe, pierced and to place in the hole the Tembeta, which [301] for the Chiriguano is a sign of his manliness (1). [885] [554]

[192]

1. The tembete is a word made up of tembe, lower lip, and ta or ita, stone, which literally translated, means stone for the lower lip, where it is put.

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The drinking continues for several hours, half in silence with a moderate and placid gathering, with the important men seated on benches or seats and some of their inferiors standing and others sitting on the ground, all of them separated from the women, and these latter, as I have already observed elsewhere, look like so many mortars. When the gathering is well attended, the sight is very pleasant, because anyone who has never seen it will be astonished by the variety of costumes and by the ornaments and cosmetics with which they adorn their faces and feet, and I have in fact seen some travelers stay for quite some time to contemplate this simple custom of those who are called the savages of Bolivia (2).

2. What a pity that there is no photograph of such gatherings! The one taken in Santa Rosa is scarcely a simulacre, since at that time there was not even any chicha for those who formed the wheel or gathering for the dance to drink.

527 533 126 The Dance and Songs

By the time they are quite full, they begin the dancing and singing of the Ayarise. I do not give the Spanish words here, for the real meaning is not known; I could explain them with conjectures and by analogy with other, similar ones, as was done by Father Giannecchini, whose words the Italian del Campano transcribes in his book, but they themselves do not know the meaning. The notes of the Ayarise are written and printed here so that any band that so desires may have a pleasant piece for some capital plaza: risum teneatis amici. The band music was set down by a maestro of the Potosí missions in the year 1903 and touched up this year by the missionary Franciscan Father Domingo F. Regini.

/270.cont./

796 call the carnival very noisy. There is nothing special about it and it lasts three days; /271/ some play the violin, and men and women sing the Alleluja. Couples hold hands as they walk through the streets. If both are women, they walk with their arms about each other's neck. They sing through the streets and in the houses and in front of them; in this latter case it is a sign of esteem for a family. The words are few: Osi ma Pascua, alleluja, Easter has come, alleluia, Ucuera yema Yandeya, alleluja, Our Master came back to life, alleluia (17).

1. The song of Alleluia begins as follows:
Santísima Trinidad /Most Holy Trinity/,
osi ma pascua Aleluya; aleluya, aleluya,
aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, etc.
Ucuera yema—Yandeya, Jesucristo; aleluya,
aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya,
etc. The s of Osi is pronounced as though it were double.

/272/

Chapter Twelve

Offensive and Defensive War

Introduction

There is no people or nation in the world which has not experienced the horrors of a war more or less bloody, more or less prolonged, and more or less disastrous. Troy burns, and Aeneas, the founder of the Roman Empire, takes advantage of the confusion, avails himself of the very darkness as his shield, and saves himself. /The remainder of p. 272 and the first paragraph on p. 273 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 273. The remainder of p. 273 follows./

do not even spin. It must, above all, have been the Tupi - Guarani. They are known for their manufacture of cotton hammocks. The Omagua who dwell (have dwelt?) in a tract where they and the Cocama are the only Tupi Indians, use hammocks both of palm-fibre and of cotton. All the neighbouring tribes have nothing but palm-fibre hammocks. Some Tupi at the Upper Xingú use palm-fibre hammocks with a woof of cotton. RUTH HAEBLER mentions two hammocks of bast from the Caingúa. Otherwise, the Tupi tribes use cotton hammocks, as has been pointed out by PATER SCHMIDT. The Caribs, too, have undoubtedly contributed to the spread of cotton-growing and the use of cotton hammocks, for it is very evident that in Guiana especially, they have used, and still use, cotton in their hammocks far more than the Arawaks. The distribution of cotton hammocks in S. America cannot be properly understood except in connection with the general history of the cultivation of cotton. It is highly probable that it was from the western area of civilization in S. America that the knowledge of cotton-growing spread over a considerable part of the continent. It is very likely that, in post-Columbian times, the practice of growing cotton has spread to a good many tribes who formerly were ignorant of it. We must remember that cotton has been grown at such mission-stations as in Mojos on a very large scale.

It must also be remembered that the history of the cultivation of cotton is of especial interest, because the cotton bush is one of the few cultivated plants that in pre-Columbian time were common to both the Old and New World. Consequently, it would be very interesting if we could prove that cotton was first used in S. America within the old culture areas, and there only after the Indians had reached a comparatively high state of civilization.

It is not quite right to say that the hammock was not used within the culture-area of the west. It was used — not as a bed, but as a litter for persons of rank. This is

corroborated by the accounts of PEDRO PIZARRO and XERES, who were eyewitnesses of the conquest of the Inca empire. In the high mountain country it is natural that hammocks should not be used as beds. In such parts they would be too cold. It is harder to make out why hammocks were not used in the coastal regions of Peru.

Evidently the hammock in S. America is so old a culture-element that it is impossible to decide whence it came to the Chané and Chiriguano. The latter certainly, and most likely the former too, used hammocks when they settled in their present territory. The technique employed in most Chané and all Chiriguano hammocks is the same as, with small variations, is mostly used wherever hammocks occur.

It is possible that some tribes about the river Amazon preferred palm-fibre hammocks to cotton ones, because the former are cooler. Possibly, too, in these regions of moist heat, hammocks of palm-fibre are less liable to rot and to be attacked by insects than those of cotton.

I here append a map (3) showing the distribution of hammocks of different material after PATER SCHMIDT, with certain additions, as will be seen from table 3.

The seat so characteristic of the Indians in great parts of S. America is a rather uncommon piece of furniture in the huts of the Chiriguano and Chané (Fig. 3). Its distribution in S. America has been investigated by PATER SCHMIDT¹⁾ and SAVILLE²⁾ wherefore I beg to refer to their works. In my own sphere of work I saw seats among the Quichua mestizoes at Calilegua, among the Mojo, Huari, Baure and Huanayam. The seat as a culture-element has its southern boundary here. It occurred, though rarely, among the Incas, where seats seem to have been the special privilege of the chiefs³⁾. Most likely it is a culture-element which the Chané

¹⁾ P. 1088.

²⁾ V. 2, P. 103.

³⁾ COBO Vol. 4, P. 172.

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fact, the only possible shape. It was quite natural that both in N. and S. America the tendency was to shape the tembeta in such wise that it should lie conveniently on the chin-bone. Ce
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The most highly specialized type of tembeta is found along the Rio Araguaya among the Karajá and Kayapó.¹⁾ There are in those parts a number of different types of lip button, and it is natural to ask whether such a variation of tembeta types was not formerly common in other parts. In other districts where the Indians still wear tembetas there is no similar variation in type. One sees only two or three different types. Nor it is likely that type-variations of stone tembetas have been much greater than is indicated by the material hitherto collected. The distribution of stone tembetas, on the other hand, may have considerably exceeded what we know at present.

KRAUSE²⁾ has pointed out how different kinds of tembetas are worn at different ages among the Karajá. The Chiriguano when merely boys wear the wooden plug. LERY³⁾ says that the Tupinambá boys had bone tembetas of conical shape. When they were full-grown (attained puberty?) they received tembetas of stone which, in part at least, had a shape similar to that of the Chiriguano and Chané tembetas. Very likely the narrower, spike-shaped tembetas which DEBENEDETTI⁴⁾ described from San Juan were for boys' wear, while those which resembled the Chiriguano and Chané tembetas were for grown-ups. Ce
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A writer as early as VAAS DE CAMINHA⁴⁾ mentions various kinds of tembetas among the Indians whom CABRAL met with when he came to the coast of Brazil. Ce
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It is evident that the spike-shaped tembetas belong to an older era of civilization than those of capshape. The

¹⁾ KRAUSE P. 220.

²⁾ P. 191.

³⁾ (4) P. 58.

⁴⁾ P. 180 a, 180 b, 180 d, 180 i, 180 l.

strong influence from the area of civilization in the west and above all the south-west.

Over fifty types.

*Over ten types.
but under fifty.*

*Over two types.
but under ten.*

Chiriguano.

Chané. (Rio Itiyuro)

Chané. (Rio Parapiti)

Cheroti.

Ashluslay.

Toba.

Mataco.

Tapiete.

Chacobo.

Chimane.

Yuracaré.

Churápa.

Pauserna.

Guarayos.

Huari.

Huanyam.

Cavina.

I am unable here to give an account of all the different shapes of earthen vessels found among the Chiriguano and Chané. Some of them have been depicted by OURS but there are many more. Those depicted here should, however, give some idea of the variations in these Indians' pottery. Some types are local and thus characteristic of certain villages; others are certainly individual. Thus I have seen different women in the same village turn out very different vessels. Some women are noted for making specially fine earthenware. They are celebrated for their pottery far outside their own village.

The Chiriguano and Chané use earthen vessels for boiling and roasting their food, as receptacles for food and other things, for carrying water, for the serving of food, for the burial of the dead and to whirl the spindle on when spinning. (Only the Chané on the Rio Parapiti.)

We see that a large number of the earthen vessels here are provided with ears or handles. In Part I of this work I claim to have proved that the ear is a culture-element derived from the Andine area of civilization.

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XXVI

Symbols of authority and dignity.

C
622 According to CORRAINO¹⁾ the Chiriguano chief was
301 distinguished by a tuft of hair on his head the «yattira»
243 and earrings of green stones. At feasts the chief carried a
pole with a bunch of ostrich feathers at the end of it, the
«yandugua», and a carved stick the «guirape». I have
Ce only seen the «yandugua». Among the Chané I have seen
622 plain sticks that formed some kind of symbol of authority
for the chiefs.

C
Ce
● 554 I have neither seen nor heard of any symbols of author-
*171 ity among any other Indians than the Chané, Chiriguano,
Quichua and Aymara, and also, at the missions, among the
Guarayos, Mosetene and Cavina. Among the Aymara and
Quichua the staff, usually silver mounted, is a symbol of
authority carried by Indian officials in the villages. It is
the same at the missions among the tribes mentioned and
also among the Chiriguano. LOZANO²⁾ states that the Span-
iards at the end of the seventeenth century solemnly pre-
sented a staff to a Chiriguano chief, Cambichuri, as a sym-
bol of authority. CREVAUX³⁾ relates from his visit to the
Oyampi that the chief carried a staff in his hand, for all
over Guiana the staff is «le signe de commandement».
KOCH-GRÜNBERG⁴⁾ speaks of the staff as a symbol of author-
ity for chiefs in northwest Brazil. GILIJ⁵⁾ says that the

1) P. 45.

2) P. 296.

3) P. 164.

4) (2) I P. 260, Fig. 142; P. 297, Fig. 173.

5) T. 2 P. 193.

staff was introduced at the missionary stations as a symbol of authority for chiefs. In the same way white men had introduced the staff as a symbol of authority among the Araucanians.¹⁾ The half civilized Ijca²⁾ use the staff as a symbol of authority for medicinemen.

According to RESTREPO³⁾ the Chibcha chiefs had staffs of guayacán. MARTIUS⁴⁾ tells us that the chief of the Tupi-Indians carried a tall staff «pocacaba». He also tells us that POMBAL in order to flatter conquered chiefs ordered Malacca canes with big knobs and tassels to be distributed among them. The Incas do not seem to have used the staff as a symbol of authority.

It is obvious from what I have said that the staff, as a symbol of authority, was introduced here by the Whites, while on the other hand the Chiriguano most likely got the «yandugua», from the Incas. One of the Inca symbols of authority was a parasol of ostrich-feathers. Thus BETANZOS⁵⁾ tells us about Inca Urco, a son of Viracocha that he was borne in a litter on the shoulders of chiefs. When he went into the market-square, he sat on a golden stool and had a parasol made of ostrich-feathers dyed red.

Dr. MAX UHLE has been kind enough to inform me that he possesses a japanned wooden drinking-cup, possibly from Carabuco near Lago Titicaca. It dates from the period of conquest. On the cup is depicted an Inca with all his tokens of honour, down to the parasol.

¹⁾ GUERRA, P. 27.

²⁾ BOLINDER (4), P. 213.

³⁾ P. 99.

⁴⁾ (1), P. 64.

⁵⁾ P. 34.

⁶⁾ See also MARKHAM P. 292.

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The chiefs' families form a sort of aristocracy among the Chiriguano and Chané. Several times I heard Indians boast about their good family connections. A Chiriguano who accompanied me for some time as an interpreter was eager to impress upon me that he was related to the most famous high chiefs.

Just as the author of this book is customarily introduced as the son of Adolf Nordenskiöld, so the Indians were wont to introduce in similar fashion the sons of their "great men."

I even discovered a bit of deception in connection with the family tree. A Chané claimed direct descent from the great Hinu Parava, which, however, is said to be untrue.

If one wishes to find beautiful things from olden times among these Indians, one must first look for them in the chiefs' families. They keep the old treasures.

More and more the white authorities are beginning to appoint the chiefs. Thus, in one region one can find a chief supported by the whites and a legitimate one.

The chiefs have great power, and, as far as I could see, they are always obeyed, in contrast to conditions among the Choroti and Ashluslay. They own the land (at least in certain regions), not for themselves, but for the tribe. If one needs porters in a Chané or Chiriguano village, one gets them from the chief, and no Indian will refuse to carry out the orders of the chief.

Although the chief has such great influence, /231/ he nevertheless works in the same way as the other Indians. Vocaboy himself, for example, carried home the heavy wood for cooking the maize beer, and his wife had to cook and sweep, like the other women. Following the example of the whites, however, a few of the most civilized and wealthy Indians, such as Taco, now have servants from their own tribe, but this was not done originally. On the other hand, as I have mentioned elsewhere, it is not unusual for the Mataco-Vejos and the Tapiete to work for the Chiriguano and Chané.

When we came home to Vocaboy's village from hunting and shared our booty with the chief /Fig. 115 appears here/, his wife accepted everything, but then went around to the houses and gave her neighbors everything that she had received.

C /86 cont./

178 The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of
565 the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which
648 was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important
CE today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last
178 century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordi-
648 nary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the
643 caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

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any difference exists today among the members of the same
Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such
a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves,
depending on the conditions of production in the different places.
Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is
distributed, more or less equally among the members of the com-
munity of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take
part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from
this rule, and they are those who have accommodated them-
selves to the modern situation and send members of their own
tribe to work as servants (333).

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C
462 Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between
the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of
labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this
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[562] inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the
fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general
eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between
men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/.
According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only
to men: hunting, planting, and clearing, woodworking, twisting